

## Message Text

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TO KEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2863

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INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 3918

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

REF: USNATO 3876 DTG 231705Z JUL 75

1. THIS MESSAGE TRANSMITS THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT MBFR WORKING GROUP PAPER ON FORCE DEFINITIONS (REFTEL). THE FINAL MBFR WG PAPER ON THIS SUBJECT WILL SERVE AS BACKGROUND FOR ANY SPC WORK ON NEW GUIDANCE TO THE AHG.

2. ACTION REQUESTED: COMMENT ON THE DRAFT WG PAPER IN TIME FOR WG MEETING TUESDAY, JULY 29.

3. BEGIN TEXT

SUBJECT: DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES

AS A CONSEQUENCE OF NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL INSTRUCTIONS, ELABORATED BELOW, THE MBFR WG IS REQUIRED TO REVIEW URGENTLY THE MILITARY/TECHNICAL IMPLICATION OF RECENT  
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WP PROPOSALS ON THE DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES. THE SUBJECT WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE WG AGENDA FOR 29 JULY. THE NOTE AT ANNEX TO THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN PREPARED AS A FOCUS FOR WORKING GROUP CONSIDERATION

OF THE PROBLEM.

MBFR: DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES

1. AT THEIR MEETING ON FRIDAY, 18 JULY, 1975, AFTER DISCUSSING A REPORT (FOOTNOTE: (1) AGV(75)025 END OF FOOTNOTE) BY THE AD HOC GROUP VIENNA ON THE COURSE OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE PERIOD MAY 16 TO JULY 17, 1975, INCLUDING THE PROGRESS OF DISCUSSIONS ON A POSSIBLE DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES, THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL INVITED THE MBFR WORKING GROUP TO EXAMINE THE MILITARY/TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE DEFINITION AND TO UPDATE A PREVIOUS REPORT (FOOTNOTE: (2) AC/276-D(74)8 END OF FOOTNOTE) INVOLVING SIMILAR POSSIBILITIES FOR DEFINITION OF FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN MBFR.

BACKGROUND

2. THE WARSAW PACT HAVE PROPOSED, IN VIENNA, A DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES ON THE BASIS THAT ALL FORCES ON EACH SIDE WITH A SIMILAR FUNCTION BE PLACED IN THE SAME CATEGORY, EITHER GROUND OR AIR. THIS WOULD PROVIDE A DEFINITION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES BASED ON AN ENUMERATION OF FUNCTIONAL TYPES OF FORCES. SPECIFICALLY, THE WARSAW PACT HAVE SUGGESTED THAT:

A. ALL TERRITORIAL (I.E. AREA) AIR DEFENCE PERSONNEL WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO AIR FORCES.

B. ALL HELICOPTER PERSONNEL WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE GROUND FORCES, WITH POSSIBLY SOME MINOR EXCEPTIONS.

C. ALL TACTICAL SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILE PERSONNEL WOULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE GROUND FORCES.

3. IT IS FURTHER NOTED THAT THE WARSAW PACT PROPOSALS WOULD ENTAIL INCLUSION IN AIR FORCES OF, INTER ALIA QUOTE FORCES OF COMBAT LOGISTICS AND SERVICES OF THE AIR FORCES AND PVO UNQUOTE.

THERE HAS BEEN NO INDICATION IN VIENNA THAT THIS DEFINITION MIGHT BE TAKEN, DEPENDING ON INTERPRETATION, TO NECESSITATE THE TRANSFER OF WP LOGISTIC AND SERVICES PERSONNEL CURRENTLY COUNTED BY NATO AS ARMY PERSONNEL, TO AIR FORCES.

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NEVERTHELESS, THIS APPROACH MIGHT LATER BE EXPLOITED: AND IS THEREFORE DISCUSSED BELOW.

4. THE MILITARY/TECHNICAL IMPLICATIONS TO BE CONSIDERED ARE:

A. THE CHANGES IN THE NUMBERS OF REDUCTIONS OF GROUND FORCES BY BOTH SIDES.

B. THE IMPACT OF THE CHANGES ON THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT BEARING IN MIND THAT THE WP MAY REFUSE TO AGREE THE ESTIMATES OF WP MANPOWER ATTRIBUTED TO THEM BY NATO AND INSIST IN THE USE IN NEGOTIATIONS OF LOWER WP MANPOWER FIGURES.

C. ANY FACTORS, DERIVING FROM IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CHANGES, BEARING ON ALLIED CONCEPTS OF VERIFICATION AND

NON-CIRCUMVENTION.

D. FINALLY, AND MOSTIMPORTANTLY, THE EFFECTS ON ALLIED SECURITY.

#### REVIEW

5. THE WP DEFINITION AT PARAGRAPH 2 ABOVE, ELABORATED IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION IN VIENNA, WOULD INVOLVE:

A. EXCLUSION FROM WP GROUND FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN MBFR OF PERSONNEL (42,000) SERVING IN CSSR AND POLISH NATIONAL AREA AIR DEFENCE ORGANISATIONS.

B. INCLUSION IN WP GROUND FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN MBFR OF PERSONNEL SERVING IN HELICOPTER UNITS (14,000).

C. INCLUSION IN NATO GROUND FORCES (TO BE ADDRESSED IN MBFR) OF:

(1) CERTAIN PERSONNEL (2,000) OF BE, FRG AND NL AIR FORCES, SERVING IN HELICOPTER UNITS.

(2) FRG PERSONNEL OF THE AIR FORCE MANNING SSM (PERSHING) (3,700 ROUNDED TO 4,000).

6. THESE POSSIBLE CHANGES, EXCEPT 4C.(1) ABOVE WERE DISCUSSED BY THE MBFR WORKING GROUP IN MID-1974, ON THE BASIS OF THE DATA THEN ACCEPTED BY NATO, UNDER CASES 1 AND 4 EXAMINED IN THE WORKING GROUP REPORT OF 17 SEPTEMBER, 1975. THIS NOTE DRAWS ON THAT WORKING GROUP REPORT.

#### EFFECTS FOR AIR FORCES

7. THE NUMERICAL EFFECT OF THE CHANGES PROPOSED BY THE WARSAW PACT FOR AIR FORCES WOULD BE:

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	MID-1974 ASSESSMENTS	LATEST ASSESSMENTS AC/276(MBFR DATA)- AC/276-D(75)2		
	NATO	WP	NATO	WP
A. STRENGTH	196,000	208,000	193,000	206,000
B. ASSIGN AREA AIR DEF PERSONNEL TO AIR		PLUS 42,000		PLUS 42,000

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C. ASSIGN HELICOPTER

PERSONNEL TO GRD -2,000 - 14,000 -- 2,000 -14000

D. ASSIGN SSM

PERSONNEL TO GRD - 4,000 - 4,000

E. RESIDUAL PERSONNEL 190,000 236,000 187,000 234,000

THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE AIR FORCE PERSONNEL STRENGTHS OF  
THE TWO SIDES, ON ALLIED ASSESSMENTS, WOULD INCREASE FROM ABOUT  
13,000 TO ABOUT 47,000, BASED ON LATEST ASSESSMENTS.

8. ONE ALLIED ARGUMENT FOR NOT ADDRESSING AIR FORCES IN  
MBFR FOR REDUCTIONS - THAT THEY ARE BROADLY EQUAL IN NUMBERS -  
WOULD BE ERODED.

EFFECTS FOR GROUND FORCES

9. FOR GROUND FORCES MANPOWER, THE NUMERICAL EFFECT  
OF THE CHANGES PROPOSED BY THE WARSAW PACT WOULD BE:

GROUND FORCES MANPOWER

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END 73 MID 74 END 74

NATO WP NATO WP NATO WP

A. ASSESSED 777,000 925,000 790,000 937,000 791,000  
951,000

STRENGTH

B. ALLOCATE CZ/POL

AREA AIR DEF PERS - 42,000 - 42,000 - 42,000

TO AIR

C. ALLOCATE HELI-

COPTER PERS TO PLUS 2,000 PLUS 14,000 PLUS 2,000 PLUS 14,000

PLUS 2,000

PLUS 14,000

GROUND FORCES

D. ALLOCATE TAC

SSM TO GRD PLUS 4,000 PLUS 4,000 PLUS 4,000

FORCES

E. RESIDUAL

ASSESSED STRENGTH 783,000 897,000 796,000 909,000 797,000 923,000

OF GRD FORCES

F. ASSESSED

DISPARITY PRE-

ADJUSTMENTS

(AT B-D) 148,000 147,000 160,000

G. DISPARITY

POST ADJUSTMENTS 114,000 113,000 126,000

10 THE NET EFFECT WOULD BE TO INCREASE THE ALLIED GROUND  
MANPOWER COUNT BY 6,000 AND TO REDUCE THE WP GROUND MANPOWER COUNT  
BY 28,000; THEREBY REDUCING THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES  
BY 34,000. IT WILL BE NOTED (PARA 8 ABOVE) THAT THE DISPARITIES  
REDUCE THUS:

DATE OF ALLIED ESTIMATE	DISPARITIES	REDUCE
FROM	TO	
A. NOVEMBER 1973	148,000	114,000
B. MID-1974	147,000	113,000
C. END-1974	160,000	126,000

11. IF, AS PRESCRIBED IN C-M(73)83(FINAL), ALLIED  
REDUCTIONS IN GROUND FORCES TO NOT EXCEED 10 PERCENT, THE INCREASE  
IN ALLIED REDUCTIONS CONSEQUENT ON THIS REDEFINITION WOULD NOT  
BE SUBSTANTIAL: APPROXIMATELY 600. UNDER THAT APPROACH, THE  
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ALLIED REQUIREMENT FOR A COMMON CEILING COULD NOT BE SET BELOW  
717,000 FOR GROUND MANPOWER, (IE. BASED ON A MAXIMUM 10 PERCENT  
REDUCTION FROM END-74 ALLIED GROUND MANPOWER STRENGTH OF 791,000).

12. FOR THE WARSAW PACT, THE NUMBER OF GROUND FORCE  
REDUCTIONS REQUIRED WOULD REDUCE ON TWO COUNTS:  
A. BY 28,000, ASSIGNED TO AIR FORCES.  
B. BY A FURTHER 17,000, CONSEQUENT ON RAISING OF THE  
COMMON CEILING OBJECTIVE FROM 700,000.  
THE REDUCTIONS REQUIRED OF THE WARSAW PACT WOULD BE:  
C. END-74 FIGURES  
206,000

13. THE EFFECT, PRIMA FACIE, WOULD BE SATISFACTORY FOR THE  
ALLIANCE. A COMMON CEILING IN GROUND MANPOWER WOULD HAVE BEEN  
ACHIEVED, AT A LEVEL OF REDUCTIONS (10 PERCENT) TOLERABLE TO THE  
ALLIES IN CONSIDERATION OF THE RECIPROCAL REDUCTIONS. THE WARSAW  
PACT WOULD REDUCE GROUND MANPOWER ON A RATIO OF 2.5:1. THESE  
ESTIMATES, HOWEVER, ARE CRITICALLY DEPENDENT ON THE ACCURACY OF  
ALLIED ESTIMATES OF WARSAW PACT MANPOWER WHICH, THE WORKING GROUP  
HAS JUDGED, COULD BE SUBJECT TO A MARGIN OF ERROR AS HIGH AS 10  
PERCENT. THE EFFECTS OF MARGINS OF ERROR AT 10 PERCENT AND 5 PERCENT  
ARE ILLUSTRATED BELOW, FOR WP REDUCTIONS.  
MARGIN  
OF ERROR END 74 FIGURES  
10 PERCENT 923,000-(10PERCENT) 92,000 EQUAL 831,000 COMMON CEILING

114,000

AT 717,000

5 PERCENT 923,000-(5 PERCENT) 46,000 EQUAL 877,000 COMMON CEILING

160,000

AT 717,000

14. ASSUMING ALLIED OBJECTIVES FOR PHASE 1 WERE IMPLEMENTED  
(INCLUDING WITHDRAWAL OF 29,000 US SOLDIERS AND 68,000 USSR SOLD-  
IERS), REDUCTIONS REQUIRED TO REACH A COMMON CEILING IN PHASE 2 AT  
717,000 WOULD BE, USING THE HIGHEST (END-74) ALLIED ESTIMATE OF  
PACT STRENGTH:

MARGIN OF ERROR

IN ALLIED ESTIMATE	FOR THE WP	FOR THE ALLIES
A. AT 5 PERCENT	92,000	51,000
B. AT 10 PERCENT	46,000	51,000

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IMPLICATIONS OF REDEFINITION FOR A COMBINED GROUND/AIR COMMON  
CEILING

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15. A COMBINED GROUND/AIR COMMON CEILING, ADOPTED ON THE BASIS  
OF THE PROPOSED DEFINITION OF FORCES, COULD BE CALCULATED BY ADDING  
187,000 (AIR FORCE MANPOWER) TO 717,000 (MINIMUM ALLIED GROUND  
MANPOWER AT 10 PERCENT REDUCTION), I.E. 904,000, I.E. ABOUT

900,000.

16. ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT AIR FORCES WILL NOT BE ADDRESSED FOR REDUCTIONS, THE NUMBERS OF GROUND PERSONNEL REDUCTIONS BY THE WP TO REACH A COMBINED COMMON CEILING ACCEPTABLE TO NATO WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY REDEFINITION. HOWEVER, THOSE WP REDUCTIONS WOULD BE TAKEN FROM GROUND FORCES REDUCED BY REDEFINITION (SEE PARA 9). TO ACHIEVE A COMBINED GROUND/AIR COMMON CEILING, ASSUMING THAT WP AIR MANPOWER AS REDEFINED IS HIGHER THAN NATO'S, THE WP RESIDUAL GROUND FORCES WOULD HAVE TO FALL BELOW THE RESIDUAL NATO GROUND FORCE MANPOWER, BROADLY TO THE EXTENT OF THE DISPARITY BETWEEN ALLIED AND PACT AIR FORCE MANPOWER COUNTS. OTHER EFFECTS OF THE DEFINITION

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17. THE CSSR AND POLISH AREA AIR DEFENCE TROOPS, WHO WOULD BE TRANSFERRED TO THE AIR FORCE COUNT UNDER THE WP DEFINITION, DO NOT CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY TO THE GROUND FORCE CONFRONTATION AND, IN PARTICULAR, DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO THE MOBILE, ARMoured (TANK) THREAT WHICH THE ALLIES MOST WISH TO REDUCE. THE TRANSFER OF THESE ELEMENTS TO THE AIR FORCE COUNT WOULD NOT ERODE THE ALLIED CONCEPT OF REDUCING THAT CONFRONTATION. CONVERSELY, THE HELICOPTERS AND THEIR OPERATING AND SUPPORT PERSONNEL WHO WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE WP GROUND FORCES COUNT DO, IN PART, CONTRIBUTE TO THE COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS OF WP GROUND COMBAT FORMATIONS: IF THE WP DEFINITION WERE ACCEPTED, THESE HELICOPTER PERSONNEL WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE GROUND FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN MBFR. AT PRESENT THE ALLIES COUNT THEM AS AIR FORCE PERSONNEL. IN THESE RESPECTS, THE CHANGES IN DEFINITION PROPOSED BY THE WARSAW PACT SHOULD HAVE NO MILITARY IMPLICATIONS, IN THEMSELVES, FOR NATO.

18. THE POINT IS MADE (PARA 3 ABOVE) THAT THE WP DEFINITION COULD BE INTERPRETED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE WP, AND THE USSR IN PARTICULAR, COULD CLAIM THAT A SLICE OF THE INTEGRATED REAR QUOTE FORCES OF COMBAT LOGISTICS AND SERVICES UNQUOTE COULD BE ASSIGNED TO THE AIR FORCES. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT THE WP INTEND TO DO THIS. NEVERTHELESS, THE LOOPHOLE EXISTS AND COULD BE EXPLOITED. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO REJECT SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH, IF USED, WOULD FURTHER REDUCE THE MANPOWER DISPARITY BETWEEN ALLIED AND PACT MANPOWER: AND SIMILARLY FURTHER REDUCE THE NUMBER OF MANPOWER REDUCTIONS REQUIRED OF THE PACT.

VERIFICATION

19. THE VERIFICATION REQUIREMENTS FOR REDEFINITION OF FORCES ON THE BASIS UNDER DISCUSSION WERE EXAMINED BY THE WORKING GROUP IN MID-1974. THE WORKING GROUP IS SATISFIED THAT THE NECESSARY TECHNICAL ARRANGEMENTS COULD BE MADE, WHEN THE PRECISE REQUIREMENT IS KNOWN AND THE FORM OF AN ACCEPTABLE OVERT INSPECTION SYSTEM IS AGREED.

NON-CIRCUMVENTION

20. THE WP REDEFINITION PROPOSALS, AS COMPARED WITH THE  
EXISTING ALLIED CONCEPT (FOOTNOTE: (1) C-M(73)83(FINAL) END OF  
FOOTNOTE), WOULD PROVIDE NO ADDITIONAL OPENING FOR CIRCUMVENTION

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OF AN MBFR AGREEMENT.

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